CHAPTER-II
MIGRANTS : THE
SOCIALISING FACTORS
A. MIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN ALIEN CULTURE

The conflict between the tradition and pressure for change in the case of migrant communities becomes all the more prominent. The problems of adjustment, alienation, discrimination, loom large before them. They are often compelled to alter not only the life style but also make compromise in terms of values, beliefs and various cultural norms. Even indigenously developed system like the traditional Tibetan Medicine which has been universally accepted as a well established system of traditional medicine cannot sustain itself in it.

India is a country where migrants were accepted from the early days. Historically reviewed, the first Aryan migration to India occurred in 2000 B.C. and then there were successive migrations. Migrant groups brought variety in ethnic streams and cultural configuration. Migrations of people is not unique to India only, but have taken place all over the world due to various reasons. When political migration takes place migrants are called 'refugee'. It is defined in encyclopedia of social sciences as uprooted homeless people who lack national protection and status. It further adds: "The refugee is an involuntary migrant, victim of politics, war or national catastrophe...." It also discusses refugee movements.

The whole population being uprooted 'stateless' persons are compelled to flee for safety. Usually the
migrants are refugees in a place where they can adjust themselves culturally or racially. Political expediency means "migration to the country which seems fit to accept migrants" (Palakshappa, 1978). Refugees from Cambodia, Vietnam migrated to neighbouring countries, like Thailand, Laos etc, besides United States and others. A section of the Tibetans also followed the same principle. They had selected the places where they could practice their religion and carry on with their political activities while living in Asia.

Voluntary or free and involuntary or forced migration disrupts community and social life, it splits families and separates kith and kin. Invariably families get disturbed during involuntary migration and there is little hope of their being united.

It is necessary to distinguish between the 'refugee' and the 'immigrant'. The immigrant moves out from his native land choose the place to go to, where as a refugee moves out, either due to economic constraint in the homeland or the economic attractions of other country. Refugee cannot move freely like immigrant (Saklani, 1984). Some historical events of migration which have been anthropologically studied so far are mentioned below.

**Historical Events**

United Nation Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), a specialised agency was established
in 1943 by 44 nations. Since post World War II, this organisation made attempts to deal with the rehabilitation of uprooted refugees throughout the world (Saklani, 1984).

Present Status

"Modern refugee movements, beginning in Europe and subsequently becoming worldwide, have given rise to a new class of people who are homeless or stateless and who live in a condition of constant insecurity which erodes human dignity. They have caused grave political and economic problems which have proved to be a burden and have caused administrative and financial constraints to national governments. Furthermore, while in its earlier stages the refugee problem was seen as a temporary and limited phenomenon it has now come to be acknowledged as universal, continuing and recurring" (Sills, 1968).

To solve the problems of refugees "The emphasis in the World Refugee Year proclaimed by the thirteenth General Assembly of the United Nations, begun in June 1959, was not so much on the traditional type of philanthropic assistance as an intensified effort to focus public opinion, and to enlist support, both from governments...... and charitable organizations of all kinds, to solve the problem of refugees wherever they may be throughout the world and into whatever formal category they may fall" (Schechtman, 1963).

Refugee status

Rees precisely defines a refugee as "Any one who has
been uprooted from his home, has crossed a frontier - artificial or traditional - and looks for protection and sustenance to a government or authority other than his former one" (Schechtman, 1963).

The above mentioned characteristics are applicable to 'national refugees'. When a refugee establishes himself permanently, acquires a new nationality, obtains equal rights with other inhabitants, earns for his living, he holds the position as 'international' refugee (Sills, 1968).

Generally involuntary situation compelled or forced the migrants to leave the native country by the turn of events, crossed its frontiers and lost all social and economic attachments, nationality status and become dependent for their protection and sustenance upon organisations or government (Sills, 1968).

The investigations reveal that the common causes of migration are rooted in the societies, and are affected by physical, economical, social, psychological, religious, political, professional hazards (Zwingmann and Ammende-Pflister, 1973). Sociological study shows a long history of migrants within and across cultures.

Migration leads to social and cultural responses that results either in the processes of assimilation, integration and acculturation whereby the immigrant absorbs the values of parent culture and integrate themselves in major culture stream or it leads to movements of social
conflict and tensions by which the migrants strive to establish their distinctive status and aspire to maintain their respective ethnic identity.

Psychological aspect

The refugee is "the epitome of the transitional man, a man whose roots have been torn out of the soil of his traditional life" (Keller, 1975). Pye comments that Keller (1975) in his study, *Uprooting and Social Change: The role of Refugees in Development*, has observed the changes in the personalities of the migrants, besides their sufferings, they are more prone to taking any risk, aggressive and also active in economic and political aspects than the rest of the world. Keller has developed a 'dynamic model' from the psychology of the refugees. According to him various stages through which political refugee tends to pass include, 'semi-paralysed' and 'grief stricken' events, 'feelings of guilt' (as because he is somehow spared, where his near and dear ones have died). Political socialisation of the migrants shows that the individual experiences from the childhood among youth got changed in adulthood by the fact of being uprooted from their homeland. The shock of losing their worlds, anxiety about the safety of their relatives in the motherland, fate of separation of the families produced serious repercussions on their adjustment and behavioural patterns in the foreign countries (Keller, 1975).

Murphy (1953) in his study cited about the social
and psychological condition of the refugees in the Indian context. Murphy (1953) described "When populations are uprooted both on the societal and on the individual level, flight and compulsory displacement of population engender a considerable amount of contemporary feeling, and this had tended to affect both social attitudes and individual objectivity". Most of the literature on refugee movement put emphasis on European countries than Asian or African refugee movement. In India, the refugee movement is not a new phenomena. In the recent years, in India there are two large International refugee movements from Tibet and Bangladesh. The prominent studies related to refugee movement, in India that deserve mention are Rajendra Prasad's, *India Divided*; V.P. Menon's, *Transfer of Power in India*; Campwell-Johnson's, *Mission with Mountbatten*, Collins and Liapierre's, *Freedom at Midnight*. The studies conducted by the social scientists from different perspectives include: Gardner Murphy's, *In the Minds of Men*; Pars Ram's, *Social Tensions in Aligarh*. These studies are related to mental processes, social attitudes and the social tensions of the refugees. Other studies include Punjabi refugees in Dehra Dun by R.N. Saxena, and Kanti Pakrashi's work on Bengali refugees from East Pakistan titled *The Uprooted*. C.N. Vakil and P.H. Cabinetmaker have studied refugees in the book, *A Study of Socio-Economic Conditions and Attitudes of Displaced Persons: Study of Social Tensions in Bombay* (Saklani, 1984). The migration is the principal form
of culture contact. The studies on migration reveal the behavioural manifestation, the severity of cultural adjustment of the migrants which are related to the recency of migration. Torres Matrullo has found more stress (depression, obsessive - compulsive symptoms) amongst less acculturated, less educated Puerto Rican Women (Torres Matrullo, 1976). Lasry (1977) in his study found 'high number of psychosomatic symptoms' which shows declination of such symptoms over time amongst the North African immigrants into Canada.

Christenson's survey of North California exhibits that freedom, individualism, equality are more valued in non metros. He also predicted that 'value conflicts' exist among the movers and the metro non-movers (christenson, 1979).

The most enduring factors of the immigrants' lives are studied by Yao (1979) on Chinese-Americans. According to him, assimilation of extrinsic factors like proficiency in the language, life-style etc. are common in metropolitan areas whereas the intrinsic factors which are bred by family experiences such as interpresonal relationships, sex, education and traditional role performance of women are less likely to deviate from the accepted standardised norms.

The analysis of inducing factors of the immigrants, Pierce et al, shows the degree of acceptance and rejection of their traditional orientations by the early generation.
and how it gradually transformed Medican-American, Japanese-Americans in San Francisco, into accepting manifested American culture among later generation (Pierce; Clark and Kaufman, 1978).

Anthropologists and others have studied the effects on personality of the migrants in the dominant cultural set up. The psychoanalytical study has been conducted by Hippler on Athabascans (of interior Alaska). He comments that "strong external authority system as greatly weakened by Western religious contact, and their social customs as eroded by the loss of the customary potlach system". (Hippler, 1973). He further adds, "the tribe experienced an interim period of apathy and self-destructive, aggressive behaviour before attempting to re-establish institutions similar to traditional forms as a way of simultaneously accommodating to and defying the dominant whites" (Rosenberg and Turner, 1981)

Berry (1978) has studied the stress among aborigines. According to him most traditional aborigines reject the dominant cultural traits, they are deviant and are constantly under stress. Psychoanalytically oriented studies and researches manifest some kind of disturbed social behaviour due to some disorienting psychological impact. Berry and Annis (1974) analysed the cultural and personality variable and developed an elaborate model of acculturative stress.

According to these assumptions the level of personal
complexity, varies with the acculturative stress. They concluded with the notion that no single or universal model would suffice the relationship between culture contact and acculturative stress. Berry (1978) from his subsequent findings has proposed that the levels of acculturative stress should be measured at different stages of acculturation in the communities.

Refugees can be found in many areas all over the world. The wars and enemy occupation have forced traditional people to inhospitable foreign terrains and distant lands. Many Ibos, due to Nigerian civil war had fled into the jungle. Like others thousands of Tibetans have taken shelter into hilly regions of India due to subjugation of Tibet. India until very recently sheltered Hindu refugees from East Bengal and more than 50,000 Tibetans who had fled from their homeland Tibet.

The reports and the articles "Cuban Negro Refugees in Miami Find 'Open doors' to Prosperity" (New York Times, October, 28, 1968) or "Hungarian Refugees of 1965 Revolution Find Success in U.S." (The New York Times, Oct. 20, 1968) (Keller 1975) on economic development of the refugees show the progress in the developed countries. The impressive characteristics like success and achievement manifest after their uprooting. Thus, the small scale industry, improved agriculture, poultry etc. by the refugees are in progress in India. According to the "U.S. Agency for International
Development that Tibetan refugees in India with no experience or training are making their way into entrepreneurial activities — and have been successful at them" (Keller, 1975). The author has cited a list of refugees used by the U.S. State Department.

Pakistani Hindus in India 1,000,000
Indian moslems in Pakistan 500,000
Vietnamese in South Vietnam 800,000
Laotians 300,000
Angolans, scattered in the Congo 260,000
Rwandans, scattered 160,000
South Sudanese in six other African countries 130,000
Tibetans in India and Nepal 60,000
Guinians in Senegal 55,000
Congolese in other countries 57,000 (Keller, 1975)

The immigrants or refugees try to preserve their cultural identity as distinct from the others in the host society. According to Vernant the Palestinian refugees constitute a special category 'militant refugees' because they live in the culture area same as their original country. "He recognizes the political factor as the basis of their resistance, but this might be the cultural factor as well, as in the Tibetan case", (Vernant, 1953).

As detailed above, it is recognised that the refugees all over the world share common problems of acceptance. They are generally viewed as political threats,
economic burden and social liability. It is often argued that they pose a threat to the parent culture whose adopted children they are expected to become. From the perspective of the refugees in the prevailing environment, it becomes further difficult for them to rehabilitate themselves. Their cultural traditions are under constant threat of degeneration and the social fabric is disintegrated. They are concerned that only those traditions which have public utility and qualities of social benevolence will survive. It was with this perspective that the present study puts a special emphasis on analysis the status of indigenous medical system of the Tibetans in contemporary India which will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

B. THE TIBETANS IN TIBET

In the ancient history of Tibet, the land is known as Bod, Bod-yul or Pugyal. As regards the origin and significance of Bod, no satisfactory exploration exists in the Tibetan literature. The etymological connection between the words Bod and Bon is drawn by Western authors by stating Bod and Bon have almost identical meaning. Bon means "those who invoke" and Bon "that which is connected with invocation, the invocations" (Haarh, 1969).

Haarh has explained the connotation of ancient terminology of Bod, having a relative territorial significance e.g. "Bod-khams-ru-bzi, it signified a few
principalities of Central Tibet, which became the nucleus of the future Tibetan Empire almost corresponding to Ru-bzi on dBu-gTsān Ru-bzi, the administrative and military areas of Central Tibet in historical time, g'Yas-ru, dBu-ru, g'Yo-ru, and Ru-lag" (Haarh, 1969). He also added that the integral idea of Bod also corroborates with the existence of different ethnic groups among Tibetan peoples (Haarh, 1969). In this respect he has raised a contradictory statement, "Whether Bod originally signified the Central nucleus of the Tibetan Empire and subsequently, by the expansion of the realm, was transferred to it, or it originally signified the total territory or the total number of the Tibetan peoples, of which Bod-Khams-ru-bzi only constituted a separate part" (Haarh, 1969).

In fact, regarding the origin and traditional territorial differentiation no theory exists till now to satisfy the anthropologists and philologists. Reliable scientific mapping and the geological survey of the land is lacking. The geological explanation as available in the literature mentions that millions of years ago the land has emerged out of the Thethys sea (Paul, 1987 and Shen; Liu 1953) of the Trans-Himalaya of Asia with uneven landscape, eternally covered with snow throughout the winter. The high central massif of Tibet is described as Tobot, literally upper Bod i.e. the Central and Western parts of present Tibet, opposite to Mabot, literally lower Bod which includes the eastern provinces (Rockhill, 1895).
Traditionally, Tibet has three broad physical divisions known as Chol-Kha-sum. From Ngari Korsum in Western Tibet to Sokla Kyao is known as U-tsang; from Sokla Kyao to the upper part of Machu (yellow river) is called Dotod (Kham). Prior to this, the divisions of Tibet were represented as Trikor Chuksum, means Tibet was divided into thirteen myriarchies, and each myriarchy had ten thousand family units (Shakabpa, 1967).

The Indus or Sengye Khabab and the Sutlej river or Langchen Khabab rise from U-tsang area (Southwest Tibet) and the Ganges in Southwest and the Brahmputra or Tsangpo flow with several tributaries. These rivers are not always navigable. The Tsangpo valley in Central Tibet provides good agricultural land and wise grazing fields and is regarded as the best habitable region in Tibet.

The eastern limit of Tibet in Kham is bordered by the Chinese province Kansu, Sichuan and Yunnan up to the Himalayan system in the north of Assam in India.

Amdo including east of the Tsaidam basin and the great Kokonor Lake (about 40 miles wide and 60 miles long) 10,000 feet above sea level, is a marshy plain bounded by the Nanshan mountainous region on the north behind which lies Kansu province joining it with China proper (Zwalf, 1981).

The northern region of Tibet Chang Thang remains inhospitable frozen high desert on which mostly nomads
Stretching for 1,625 miles in length from West to east and 812 miles from north to south (latitude 28° to 37° north, 78° to 99° longitude East) and raising itself to an average elevation of 16,500 feet above the sea level, the land of Tibet stand as a most effective natural barrier on the north of India. Total surface is 4,60,000 sq. miles approximately. Tibet is almost dry and cold throughout the year except the Kham region and parts of the Tsangpo or Brahmaputra, where harsh wind, snow storm with scanty rainfalls are common. The temperature of the land varies between 50°F to 68°F (10°C to 20°C) in summer and in winter it can be uniformly below the freezing point. Tibet is studded with highest mountain ranges of the world with a total length of over 1,500 miles. On its border with Nepal lies Mount Everest, and on the border of Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet is Kanchenjunga. In between Bhutan and Tibet Mount Kailash or Chomo Lhari, Tsari, Yalha Shambo, Chomo Kharak, Kangkar Shameh, Nyanchen Thanglha, Machen Pomra are other great mountains of Tibet (Grolier, 1976 and Shakabpa, 1967). Tibet is a land of rivers and lakes. In the North-east Koknor or Tso Trishor Gyalmo commonly known as "Blue Lake" is the largest lake among the others. During the winter, when the lake is frozen, shepherds go there for pilgrimage (Shakabpa, 1967).

Though the territorial demarcation of Tibet is not very prominent but the land of Tibet is strategically
significant as it lies right in the heart of Asia. The strategic potentialities of the physical setting highlight that the almost isolated and sparsely populated Tibet is broadly surrounded by India, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Upper Burma in the South, Eastern Turkestan in the north, China in the east and by Kashmir in the west. Since 1963, the earlier provincial divisions have been changed after renaming them by the Chinese authorities for their administration and Tibet is presently name as TAR (Tibet Autonomous Region).

Keeping aside the mythical origin of the Tibetans, analysis as contributed by Stein includes: "The origin of the Tibetans is still a mystery. Theories put forward about it are based on all sorts of observations .... ethnographic, linguistic, etc ... and postulate various migrants of different peoples" (Stein, 1972). The anthropologists hold a general statement that Tibetans belong to Mongoloid race (Stein, 1972).

The studies on variation of anthropometric parameters like height, cephalic index, hair and eye colour, hair structure and facial characteristics are limited as the area under study is virtually inaccessible and has been secluded from the rest of the world for centuries together. However, some attempts have been made in the recent past to study this problem with the immigrant Tibetans. The literature on physical characteristics of the Tibetans show
that Tibetans comprise of substrains namely Chinese, Mongol and Turanian. The anthropologists have classified them in two broad types: one of slight build, who are spread throughout the Tibet, and the other of taller build, again spread throughout the Tibet, and the other of taller build, typical of Kham. The northeast group belongs to blue-eyed, 'blond' types (Stein, 1972). In this regard Shakabpa highlights that in U-tsong region of Tibet majority of the people are short statured, round headed having high cheekbone and slightly different from those of the other two regions. Tall, long headed and long limbed Tibetans belonged to Kham and Amdo (Shakabpa, 1967).

From the above statement it can be concluded that the Tibetan population appears to have originated out of diverse ethnic stock though scientific investigations are not yet complete. Tibet had been a forbidden land for outsiders for more than couple of centuries. Anthropologists in the recent years have tried collecting evidence of Tibetan civilisation which is gradually eroding among the immigrant Tibetans. However, the data on this is still scanty and partial.

C. HISTORICAL EVENTS

According to general conception of Tucci, Petech, Hoffmann and Stein the early history of Tibet was overshadowed with historical and legendary traditions of the
Tibetan dynasty. (Haarh, 1969). Waddell (1934) and Rockhill (1907) also support the above mentioned statement.

Authors sharing the general conception regarding the actual cradle of Tibetan civilisation and the genesis of the Tibetan nation believe that it started in the Yarlung valley in Central Tibet. Studies of Tibetan sources reveal that the credit of subjugation of neighbouring tribes or nations as one ethnic group or Tibetan nation goes to the Tibetan Emperor Namri Songtsen in the 6th or in the beginning of 7th century A.D. (Haarh, 1969 and Samphel, 1982). However, Tibetan historians regard Songtsen Gampo who received the heritage from his father, Namri Songtsen. The territorial status of the Tibetan empire at the beginning of this epoch is quite explicitly expressed in the following words. The extension of empire was about "2000 kilometres, from the valley of the upper Yang-tzu-chiang in the East to the mountain regions beyond the Lake Manasarowar in the West, touching northwards the territories of the Turkish tribes, and dominating the Himalayan marches of India to the South" (Haarh, 1969).

The actual imperial tradition of Tibet began during the region of King Songtsen Gampo in 617 A.D. He ruled for twenty years and extended the empire with an addition of other territories. The Tibetan historical records admit establishment of his matrimonial relations with the Western Turks, Nepal, Gilgit and with China,(Samphel, 1982; Atisha, 1984 and Festival of Tibet, 1990).
Despite these matrimonial alliances the Tibetans continued their hostility with the Chinese and invaded the Chinese protectorate in the Tarim basin (East Turkestan) and proceeded towards Kashgar and Khotan in (662-665 A.D.). They succeeded to occupy the lower silk route passing through Kucha, Karrashahr in 670 A.D. All the relevant historical documents disclose that the Tibetan militia defeated the Chinese and conquered the four garrisons in East Turkestan in 650-683 A.D. (Shakabpa 1967). In due course of time Tibetans extended their military campaigns in Hunza and advanced as far as Swat (now in Pakistan), Farghana and Samarkand (Hoffmann et al, 1975 and Richardson, 1962).

The Tibetans gradually moved towards the northern region (at present Uzbekistan) and later on the Tibetans dominated the kingdom of Nepal in the southern region and on the hill tribes of Himalayas adjacent to India and their domination spread upto upper Burma.

The Chinese emperor, Hsuan - tsung had to fight against the Muslims of Arab and the Tibetans but they were defeated and the Tibetans occupied Gilgit in 737 A.D. (Beckwith, 1980). Thus hostility between Tibet and China continued till the later half of the 8th century.

During the reign of the Tibetan King Trisong Detsen (755-797 A.D.) the Tibetan militia marched towards the western province of T'ang China and established a new
Emperor in the Chinese capital. The Tibetan National Uprising (1979) reports that "whenever new Emperor was enthroned in China, it marked the beginning of a new year". Since then the Tibetans had started the celebration of new year on that day.

The inscriptions in 'Stone Pillar' in Lhasa exhibit this memorable victory. The King campaigned against the Chinese in western part of Baltistan and Gilgit and had penetrated the southern region of Himalayas as far as Bengal and Bihar in India. (Shen and Liu, 1973).

In 783 A.D., a treaty with the Chinese was made, acknowledging the domination of the Tibetans over the Chinese territories which includes the Tarim basin also.

During the period of King Trisong Detsen Tibetan militia reached the Pamir region in the west and the northern area of river Oxus, in 722-757 A.D.

The historical records mention that the Tibetan militia continued their hostility for few more decades with the Muslims (Arabs) in the west, during the regime of King Tride Songtsen (799-815 A.D.).

In 821-822 A.D., when the 49th Tibetan King Ralpachen was in power, a bilateral treaty was established not only to dissolve "Tang - Tibet conflict", but also to affirm Tibetan dominated boundaries which marked all of Kansu area and west of Sze-chwan. In addition, it can be mentioned that the 'Tibetan Kingdom of Tibet' collapsed in 842 A.D. with the assassination of Tibetan King Langdarma.
The Tibetans designate the early historical periods as the "age of the Chogyals' of the religious Kings" (Shakabpa, 1967).

However, Sakya Pandita (1182-1253 A.D.) took a bold step to establish relationship with the rising power of Mongols and succeeded in holding political predominance over the vast part of the country with the grant of secular authority by the Mongol ruler Kublaikhan in the 13th century.

In 1578 A.D. Sonam Gyatso the 3rd Dalai Lama in the succession of the Gelugpa school of Buddhism in Tibet could develop tremendous cordiality with the Mongol ruler Altan Khan of the Tumet Mongols of Kokonor (Modern Ching Hai). Then the great 5th Dalai Lama, Lobsang Gyatso could establish the "harmonious blend of religion and politics" (Samphel, 1982). With his extraordinary spiritual exuberance and serene personality he recovered the lost fortune of Tibet. Since then the Gelugpa Dalai Lamas ruled over Tibet as both secular and spiritual head of Tibet until the communist Government of China invaded Tibet in 1959 (Samphel, 1982).

The above facts speak about the advent of races from Tibet's neighbouring countries since the beginning of civilisation there and that amounts to diversity in the demographic chart of the Tibetan people.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF STATE</th>
<th>POPULATION (as on 31.3.1988)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARUNACHAL PRADESH</td>
<td>4494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSAM</td>
<td>Data incomplete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DELHI (U.T.)</td>
<td>1236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIMACHAL PRADESH</td>
<td>15705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAMMU &amp; KASHMIR</td>
<td>5063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KARNATAKA</td>
<td>27927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAHARASHTRA</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MADHYA PRADESH</td>
<td>1361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORISSA</td>
<td>3101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIKKIM</td>
<td>Data incomplete</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From: Information Office of Central Tibetan Secretariat
### TABLE 2:2
**TIBETAN POPULATION IN HIMACHAL PRADESH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>6846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharapathar</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimla</td>
<td>1316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dholanji</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamrao</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sataum</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puruwala</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paonta Sahib</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tashijong</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherab-Ling</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bir</td>
<td>1259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauntra</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pandoh</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulu</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patlikuhl</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th Mile</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manali</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandi</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunder Nagar</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewalsar</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalhousie</td>
<td>1104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15705</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*From Delek's 1987 HP Survey*
D. PATTERN OF TIBETAN MIGRATION TO INDIA

Since 1959, as a result of Chinese invasion, the immigrant Tibetans along with their spiritual and temporal leader His Holiness the Dalai Lama fled Tibet and sought political asylum in India. Initially the immigrant Tibetans were provided food, clothing, medicine and shelter and temporarily they were engaged in road construction where they could earn their living through manual labour. Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation, the Government of India and various voluntary organisations have resettled them in various major and minor agricultural settlements, agro-industrial settlements and handcraft centres mostly in India and Nepal (Annexure IIA & IIB). The major settlements located in South and Northeast India and minor ones mostly in Bhutan and Nepal are by and large dependent on agriculture. The migrant Tibetans have started individual cultivating the allotted land along with the adaption of new cultivation techniques, equipments, chemical fertilisers, high yeilding varities of seeds and crops. The agriculture based settlements are mostly located in Mysore (South India), Assam, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, and Himachal Pradesh. A separate list is attached to highlight the demographic profile of the settlements. (Table 2:1 and 2:2). The settlements in the Himalayan foothills of Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh are mostly based on crafts and industries having relatively small cultivable land. It is
TABLE 2:3
BAR DIAGRAM SHOWING AGE & SEX STRUCTURE OF SAMPLE POPULATION
reported that 16,000 migrant Tibetans are still unsettled and earning their livelihood as part time labourers. Each Tibetan rehabilitated settlement is the representation of an uprooted community (Map 5). A tiny population is also observed in the Ladakh area of Kashmir, (Karan, 1976).

E. DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF THE STUDIED POPULATION OF FOUR SETTLEMENTS

Dharamsala

Total number of population interviewed at Dharamsala was 522 constituting approximately 10.4 per cent of the static population. There were 264 males (50.57%) and 258 females (49.42%). Maximum informants were in the age group of 21 to 30 and 59.8% of the population was below 40 years of age (Table 2:3).

Kulu

The population interviewed at Kulu was 58 constituting 45.3 per cent of the total population. There were 24 males (41.4%) and 34 females (58.6%). Respondents were mostly in the age ranging from 21 to 30 years and 75.9 per cent of the population was below 30 years of age (Table 2:3).

Manali

Total number of population interviewed at Manali was 57
TABLE 2:4
BAR DIAGRAM SHOWING AGE-WISE LITERACY STATUS OF
SAMPLE POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE IN YEARS</th>
<th>ILLITERATE</th>
<th>DHARMSALA</th>
<th>KULU</th>
<th>MANALI</th>
<th>DOLANJI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>71-80</td>
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<tr>
<td>61-70</td>
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<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
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Scale: 5 mm = 1%
124 constituting 13.8 per cent of the settlement population. There were 63 males (50.8%) and 61 males (49.2%). Maximum number of informants were in the age group 11 to 20 years and 71 per cent of the population was below 30 years of age (Table 2:3).

**Dolanji**

The total number of informants at Dolanji settlement near Solan in Himachal Pradesh interviewed were 106, constituting 37.8 per cent of the total population. Sample population represents 62 males (58.5%) and 44 females (41.5%). Maximum respondents were in the age group of 11 to 20 years and 58.5 per cent of the population was the age group below 30 years (Table 2:3).

Evaluation of literacy status of all the four settlements reveals that majority of the people born before the Chinese invasion were illiterate. Contrarily, the younger generation who are mostly born and brought up in exile show a remarkably improved literacy status (Annexure IIC). This is an important landmark and is bound to have a bearing on the culture of the immigrants in exile.